

A

# VINDICATION

OF

## The POWER of STATES

TO

### Prohibit CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES

Under the Pain of Absolute Nullity ;

Particularly the Marriages of Minors, made without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians :

In ANSWER to

The Rev. Dr. STEBBING's *Dissertation on the Power of States to deny Civil Protection to the Marriages of Minors, etc.*

WITH

### OCCASIONAL REMARKS

ON

*An Enquiry into the Force and Operation of the annulling Clauses in a late Act for the better preventing of Clandestine Marriages, with Respect to Conscience.*

In a LETTER to the DOCTOR.

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By JAMES TUNSTALL, D. D.

Rector of Great Charte in Kent.

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K

*To come at the Bottom of this Question, we must consider how the Right of Marriage stands upon the Foot of the natural Law, antecedently to Society ; and then enquire what Alteration the Intervention of Society will make in the Case. Enquiry, etc. p. 4.*

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# VERIFICATION

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A  
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The POWER of STATES, *etc.*

S I R,

I TAKE the Liberty to send you a few Thoughts, which occurred to me upon reading over your *Dissertation on the Power of States to deny Civil Protection to the Marriages of Minors, made without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians\**; the professed Design of which *Dissertation* is to shew, that the Legislature hath exercised an unwarrantable Power, a Power to which no Civil Community can be entitled, in enacting, in the late Marriage-Act, *that all such Marriages shall be absolutely null and void to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.*

\* Lond. 1755.

B

WHAT

WHAT I have to say upon this Subject may be comprized under these two Heads of Inquiry, *viz.*

*First*, Concerning the Nature and Rights of Marriage; which of those Rights are created by the Law of the Civil State; and what the Power of the State is to annul Marriage.

*Secondly*, Concerning the Power of the State to annul the Marriages of Minors, made without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians.

## S E C T. I.

*Concerning the Nature and Rights of Marriage; which of those Rights are created by the Law of the Civil State; and what the Power of the State is to annul Marriage.*

**M**ARRIAGE, you say\*, *has a natural Existence of its own, antecedent to, and abstracted from all the Laws of Civil Society. — Marriage there was before Civil Societies began; and Marriage there would be again, if all Civil Societies in the World should be destroyed.* Here you are undoubtedly speaking

\* *Diff.* p. 1.

of Marriage, as that Institution either actually *did* subsist, or, at least, *might have* subsisted upon the Principles of the Law of Nature only. For to no other Species of Marriage can the Characters belong, that, in Force of any universal Law \*, *it has a natural Existence of its own, antecedent to all the Laws of Civil Society*; and that *it was before Civil Society began.*

BUT when you, immediately afterwards, come to declare the *Rights* or *Obligations* of Marriage, you then consider Marriage in a quite different Light; not as this Institution would subsist upon the Principles of Nature, but as it subsists upon the Principles of the Christian Revelation, or as it is appointed by the Laws of Civil Societies. *The Rights*, you say †, *which NATURALLY arise from the Marriage-Contract*, are principally these, viz, *The Parties contracting are bound to live together in conjugal Love and Fidelity, during their joint Lives; the Wife may challenge Maintenance and Protection from the Husband; the Issue may challenge Maintenance from both,*

\* Concerning the State of Primæval Marriage, see *Grotius De Jure Belli*, etc. ii. 5. 9. 1, 2, 3, etc.

† *Diff.* p. 2.



*till they are able to maintain themselves; and they are entitled to the Substance of the Parents, when dead, against all Strangers, except so far forth as they may stand excluded by some Act of the Parents themselves.*—Now the first of these Rights arising from the Marriage-Contract, that the *Parties contracting are bound to live together in conjugal Love and Fidelity, during their joint Lives*; is a Right of the Institution of Marriage, not as it subsists upon the Principles of the natural Law, but as it is improved and enjoined by the Law of the Christian Revelation; the only universal Law we know of, whether natural or instituted, which hath so entirely prohibited Polygamy, and regulated Divorce, as to render the Marriage-Contract an Obligation of the Parties to a mutual and perpetual Fidelity. The second of the Rights above enumerated, the Wife's Claim of *Maintenance and Protection from the Husband*, beyond the Limits of the natural Marriage hereafter described, is the Right of Marriage as it is differently ordered or allowed by the Laws of different Civil Societies. The last of those Rights, the Claim in the Issue of necessary Maintenance from their Parents, and the Right to succeed to their Substance, *except*  
*so*



so far forth as they may stand excluded by the Parents themselves; these Rights, if considered abstractedly from the Appointments of Civil Communities, which differently regulate Successions, in Support of Civil or Legal Marriage, and from other Considerations of general Utility; are in Reality Rights not *naturally arising from the Marriage-Contract*. They are Rights *naturally arising* to the Issue from their Parents *as such*, not as they are Parents *joined together in a State of Marriage*. Their Claim of necessary Maintenance *arises* from the Principle of natural Law, which exacts from Parents the Support of that Being, which they themselves have given \*; and the Claim of Succession *ab intestato* to the Remainder of the Parents Substance, if it is not intirely the Creation of the Law of the Civil State †, must naturally proceed only upon the reasonable Presumptions of the Will of the

\* Qui dat formam, dat quae ad formam sunt necessaria; dictum est Aristotelis: quare qui causa est ut homo existat, is, quantum in se est, et quantum necesse est, prospicere ei debet de his, quae ad vitam humanam, id est, naturalem ac socialem, nam ad eam natus est homo, sunt necessaria. *Grot. De Jur. Belli*, etc. ii. 7. 4. 1, 2.

† See this Point most ingeniously argued in an excellent Treatise, entitled, *Some Considerations on the Law of Forfeiture for High-Treason*, etc. pp. 11—21. 3d Edit.

Parents considering their surviving Representatives as a Sort of Propagation of their own Persons \*. Nature therefore, in the Matter of Successions, discerns not the Differences of legitimate and illegitimate, Male and Female Issue ; as is observable in the Use of Successions to those Kingdoms, which have been possessed in *Patrimonio*, where Nature and the Rights of Nature and Nations only could take Place †.

SOME of these Observations may be useful hereafter to a more distinct Apprehension of the Nature and Effects of a *Nullity in Law* of the Marriage-Contract. I am now considering, as distinctly as may be needful to our present Inquiry, the three several Species, or,

\* Hinc fit, ut etiam, citra auxilium legis civilis, prima bonorum successio liberis deferatur ; quia creduntur parentes illis, *ut corporis sui partibus*, non tantum de necessariis, sed et de his, quae ad vitam suavius honestiusque transigendam pertinent, quam uberrime voluisse prospectum, ab eo maxime tempore, quo ipsi rebus suis frui non possent. *Grot. ib. ii. 7. 5. 2.*

† *Grotius* therefore, speaking of Marriage as an Institution provided to ascertain the Genuineness of the Offspring, adds—Et, si *alio quovis modo* constet, quis fuerit pater, aut pater id pro explorato habuerit, *naturaliter* is partus, non minus quam alius quivis succedet. *Ib. 8. 1. v. et § 12, 16.*

I may

I may call them, Degrees of the Marriage-Institution, in Reference to the three several Laws, which have properly Concern in this Matter; the Law of Nature; the Law of the Christian Revelation, usually called the Divine Law; and the Law of Civil Society. By the Law of Nature, Marriage is a Contract of Consociation between the Sexes, extending the Obligation of Fidelity so far as is necessary to ascertain the Genuineness of the common Offspring\*. Here the Obligation of Fidelity is neither mutual in the Parties†, nor perpetual in either Party. By the Christian Law Marriage, or the Marriage-Contract, is well defined in Bishop *Fleetwood's* Words; A Contract

\* Ratio aliqua reperienda fuit, qua probabiliter constaret, quis esset partus cujusque pater. Ea ratio est conjugium sumptum in terminis naturalibus, id est, consociatio, qua femina sub maris custodia constituitur. Ib. ii. p. 8. 1.

† What is it—which constitutes the Marriage-Contract? Answer (with *Grotius* and others) it is THAT FAITH by which the Man and Woman *bind themselves to each other* to live together as Man and Wife. *Enquiry into the Force and Operation of the annulling Clauses*, etc. p. 5. Now, in one of the two Passages referred to, *Grotius* says, *Accessit fides, qua se femina mari obstringit*. Ib. ii. 5. 8. 2. In the other, *Conjugium verum esse potuit, si femina—fidem marito dedisset*. Ib. 15. 2.

or



or Consent of a Male and Female to give to each other the Use and Dominion of each other's Body, exclusive to all the World besides, so long as they both shall live \*. But what is subjoined by that great Prelate, that *this is properly the Marriage-Contract*, and COMMON TO ALL NATIONS AND RELIGIONS ; is an Error very easily conceived from the Attention's being wholly fixed on Christian Ideas, from which you might have abstracted with less Difficulty, when you were professedly considering Marriage, as *having a fixed, determinate Nature of its own, which no Laws in the World can alter* †. — It is indeed certain, that the Civil Laws of a Community of Christians cannot alter this fixed, determinate Nature of a Christian Marriage-Contract ; but yet they may and must add to it, as you both suppose, several Matters of Ceremony, Decency, and Prudence, as necessary to be observed in every Contract of Marriage, which shall be acknowledged, as such, in any particular Civil Community of Christian Men. In such Case Marriage, besides its natural and Christian, will receive its third

\* Fleetwood Op. in Fol. pp. 672, 3. as cited Differt. pp. 41, 2.

† Diff. p. 41.



Degree of Existence, its distinct *Civil Existence*; when it is solemnized under such Qualifications, and according to such a Form, as the public Wisdom has thought fit to *make essential to Marriage in the Community* over which it presides.

AND as there is a certain Order of Ascent in these several Species, or Degrees of Perfection, in the Marriage-Contract; so is there such Agreement and Consistency among them, that a Marriage according to the Christian Law pre-supposes the Qualifications of the contracting Parties, necessary to their marrying according to the Law of Nature; and a Marriage according to the Civil Law of a Community of Christian Men pre-supposes the Conditions of the contracting Parties, necessary to their marrying according to the Law of God. The Qualifications of the contracting Parties, necessary to their marrying according to the Law of Nature, are a competent Share of Understanding and a Liberty of Will, which are essentially required to every moral or obligatory Act whatsoever; and moreover the moral Faculty \*, or rightful Power of dis-

\* The Doctor, against the Use of *Grotius*, whom he translates, and of all the moral Writers, when they speak

posing themselves, which is essentially required to their contracting the particular Obligation of Marriage. The Conditions of the contracting Parties, necessary to their marrying according to the Law of God, are that they be *single* Persons, and not within the prohibited Degrees; that is, that they retain the moral Faculty of disposing themselves, which the Divine Law admits; and that they use it according to the Rule, which the Divine Law prescribes.—On the other Hand, it is of great Importance to be observed, that, should the Contract of Marriage, which is required by the Law of Nature only, be made by a Christian, without the two Requisites of Marriage appointed by the Law of God ; his Marriage

of *The moral Faculty*, by Way of Eminence, makes *moralis facultas* to signify, first, what the same *Grotius* calls the *vis electrix*, or Faculty of *Choice* which constitutes a *free* Agent ; and, afterwards, to signify the *Maturity of Understanding*, which constitutes an *intelligent Agent*. *Diff.* p. 8, 9, 10. But *moralis facultas* signifies *neither*; but the *rightful Power* of doing a moral Action, or of contracting a moral Obligation : whereas the other *Faculties* are no more than a *bare Capacity* of doing these Things; and thus the Doctor himself observes, that *Maturity of Understanding constitutes the moral Faculty* ; for WITHOUT THIS a Person IS CAPABLE of no moral Obligation, p. 10.

must

must needs be *null and void* in Christian Estimation, and to all the Purposes of Religious Society. In like Manner, should the Contract of Marriage, which is required by the Divine Law only, be made by a Member of a Civil Community of Christian Men, without the Requisites of Marriage appointed by the Law of that Community; his Marriage must needs be *null and void* in Civil Estimation, and to all the Purposes of Civil Society.

LITTLE more need be said on this Head, since, whatever you may judge of the Premises, you have already admitted of, nay, contended for the Conclusion; namely, *the Power of the State to make Marriages null in Law, or to deny to them Civil Protection.* Upon this Principle you could assert the Reasonableness and Expediency of the late Marriage-Act, with Regard to the Clauses annulling Marriages *solemnized in illegal Places, and without Banns or Licences* \*. Indeed you very commendably prove the Principle, as we shall see hereafter, from the Necessity the State is under of appointing certain Solemnities and Circumstances *as necessary* to a Marriage good

\* *Diff. Pref. p. ii.*



*in Law.* Taking therefore for granted the Necessity, and consequently the rightful Power of the State to declare what *is* or *shall be* Legal Marriage ; from what has been laid down, and what is equally admitted by us both, I would briefly account for and justify those several Consequences, which you have well enumerated, as *necessarily following from a Nullity of Marriage in Law.* The Consequences are ; *The State will not enforce Cohabitation of the Parties, but punish it ; and the Parties, for ought that the Law will binder, may marry again ;—the Wife can sue for no Maintenance ;—the Law will not oblige the Parents to provide for the Children, any further than is necessary to prevent their being chargeable to the Public ;—nor shall the Children be entitled to any Estate as by Inheritance from such Parents\*.* Now, in admitting all these Consequences, or Effects of a Marriage declared *null and void in Law*, what does the State but what she has *the Power*, or unquestionable *Right* to do ? Does she take away or destroy any Rights belonging to Marriage, as that Institution has a *fixed, determinate Nature of its own ; an Existence antecedent to, and abstracted from*

\* *Diff.* pp 2, 3.



*all the Laws of Civil Society?* That this is not the Case has already appeared. Even the Right of *Inheritance*, or Succession *ab intestato* to the Parent's Estate, which is either the free Contribution of the Law of the State, or, at least, strictly speaking, is *no natural* Right of Marriage; yet this very Right is still left to proceed upon the probable Conjecture or Presumption concerning the Parent's Will, which, in the State of Civil Society, where no contrary Signification is given by the Parent, is reasonably presumed to have been no other than what the standing Law of the Public has appointed touching Successions\*. In the next Place, as the State does not deprive the Marriage, *which is antecedent to Civil Laws*, of any of its inherent Rights; but only confers certain Rights upon the Marriage, to which, on Considerations of Policy both necessary and just, she has

\* Illud—tenendum est, quoties voluntatis expressiora indicia nulla sunt, credi quemque id de sua successione statuisse, quod lex aut mos habet populi, non tantum *ex vi imperii*, sed *ex conjectura*. Grot. *De Jur. Bell. &c.* ii. 7. 11. 2. A Disinheritance reaches to the Fruits of the Son's own Labour and Industry, which the Issue cannot claim by *Inheritance*, as by the natural Law they may. *Diff.* p. 31. Now the Issue cannot claim, by the Force of the natural Law itself, under the necessary Circumstances of Civil Society.

thought

thought fit to give the Sanction of a legal Establishment ; so are the several Consequences of a *Nullity in Law* the necessary Appendage of the legal Establishment of Marriage. Hence the Cohabitation of the Parties, in consequence of a Marriage disallowed by the State, may be *punished* as a continued *Disobedience to the Law* of the State ; nor is the State obliged to *enforce* the Divine Law of Marriage, as it is a Contract of mutual and perpetual Fidelity and Assistance, further than is conducive to her Civil Interests, much less to her Prejudice\* ; as neither is she obliged to enforce the natural Law of Parents providing for their Children ; *any further* than she has Interest in the Preservation of every Individual, and *any further than is necessary to prevent his being chargeable to the Public.*

LET us now see whether we can advance still a Step further. I said, you have well maintained the Power of the State to make certain Marriages *null in Law*, or to *deny* to them *Civil Protection*. *Before any Society,*

\* So the State denies Civil Protection to Marriages, where either of the Parties shall absent him or herself, *without Notice*, for seven Years ; or, even *with Notice*, shall be continually remaining beyond the Seas.

you

you say \*, can yield its Protection to a Marriage-Contract, it is necessary that the Society should know, that such a Contract is made. And because every Form of Words, which Men may contrive for themselves, may not have the Force of a Marriage-Contract; therefore every Society has a Right to prescribe its own Form. It is further necessary, that when the Contract is made, it should be notified in such a Manner as the Law shall prescribe; because if every Man was left to his Liberty in these Points, and the Society should be obliged to treat all Persons as married, who say or pretend that they are married; the State might yield its Protection to those who cohabit without Marriage; which is by all Means to be avoided in every well-governed Commonwealth—Now here you assert, not only that the Solemnities of making and publishing the Marriage-Contract, prescribed by the Public, are absolutely necessary in order to its being capable of Protection from the State; but that the State acts within her proper and rightful Province; nay, that she is discharging an indispensable Duty, both in prescribing and maintaining those Solemnities; if she would avail herself of the

\* Diff. p. 39.



salutary Institution of lawful Marriage, and avoid yielding her Protection to those who cohabit without Marriage; which is by all Means to be avoided in every well-governed Commonwealth: That is, the State has a Right, and is moreover obliged to *prohibit* unlawful Marriage, which, you say, she cannot do by any stronger Act than by taking from it all Civil Existence\*; and therefore she has a Right to the Obedience of her Subjects, with Regard to the established Solemnities of Marriage, in Virtue of the Allegiance which they owe to the State, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience Sake. My Inference is, that a Nullity in Law of any Marriage-Contract, between Parties in lawful Subjection to the Civil Power, is likewise a Nullity in Conscience; or that there is properly no *Vinculum Matrimonii* arising from a Marriage prohibited by the State, and declared by her to be null and void to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

A Nullity in Law of such Marriage you justify as follows, viz. Every Member of Society must be presumed as having consented, that unless he marries according to the Form, and

\* *Diff.* p. 41.



the Marriage be publicly notified in the Manner that the Law prescribes, if he shall cohabit with any Woman as his Wife, he renounces his Right to be treated as a married Man. — And the Presumption is reasonable. For a Man may reasonably be presumed as consenting to lay himself and his Children under any Inconveniences or Incapacities, to tie up his Hands from doing unlawful Things. Upon this Principle all penal Laws are grounded\* — But it is not the Civil Inconvenience or Incapacity, that is, the Penalty annexed, which renders any Law of the State a purely penal Law; i.e. a Law, which is equally satisfied, whether Obedience is paid to it, or the Penalty is undergone. In the Case before us, particularly, the Laws appointing, under the Penalty of a Nullity, the necessary Regulations of the Marriage-Contract; these Laws being enjoined by the State for the Maintenance of her Virtue, her Peace, her Well-being, that they may attain their full End, the Subject must be supposed to be, in Conscience and Justice to the State, obliged to render to them an active Obedience. An Act of Contract in Violation of this necessary Duty of Obedience, is itself null. For here is no Room

\* Diff p. 40.

for the Application of the Rule, *Fieri non debuit, factum valet*; which Rule can be justly applied to those Acts only, which offend against the Rule of universal Justice, or of human Virtue at large, not to those Acts which violate the Dues of Justice strictly and properly so called, or are injurious to another's Right. Thus a Donation, that is prodigal, or against the Rules of a just Oeconomy, will be valid; not a Donation of what is the Property of another.

To be more particular: There are two Conditions of any moral or obligatory Act, which alike render it invalid, or incapable of exerting its obligatory Force\*. The one is, a moral Defect in the *Agent*, or a Want of the *Facultas moralis*, the rightful Power to do the Act, either because it is subject to the just Authority of another, or because it is otherwise injurious to his Right. The other Condition is, a moral Defect, or Viciousness accompanying the *Effect* or Obligation of any moral Act;

\* Meminisse debemus, non omnia, quæ juri naturæ repugnant, irrita fieri jure naturæ, ut exemplo prodigæ donationis apparet; sed ea demum, in quibus deest principium dans validitatem actui, aut in quibus vitium durat in effectu. *Grot. De Jure B. ii. 5. 10. 1.*

as because the Effect of it is Sin, or the Obligation of it is an Obligation to commit Sin or Injury. In the Matter of *universal Virtue*, such an Obligation would be an Obligation to commit Sin; which Obligation annuls itself. In the Matter of *strict Justice* towards Society or Individuals, such an Obligation would be an Obligation to commit *Injury*, or, in your Expression, an Obligation to *do unlawful Things*, which, you say, *every Man may reasonably be presumed as consenting to tie up his Hands from*. Now to confine ourselves to the Case before us: An Obligation arising from a Marriage-Contract prohibited and also disallowed by the Civil Community, in a Member of that Community, is an Obligation to *do unlawful Things*. It is an Obligation *creating a State* of Disobedience to the Laws of a just Authority, and of an Authority justly dispensed. Thus is a *Vinculum Matrimonii*, a subsisting Obligation of a Marriage, which is *prohibited* by the *strongest Act* of the Law, *null and void in Conscience*; there being a moral Viciousness perpetually accompanying it: And what is still more, there is a moral Viciousness accompanying it, which must occasion interfering and impracticable Obligations. The



Law of the Contract obliges the Parties one way, and the Laws both of God and Man oblige them another \*. They *stand bound together as Man and Wife before God* †; and yet the State has a *Right* to consider and to treat them as unmarried. Do not tell me here, that these Circumstances of Perplexity are incident to the common Condition of Life; that the Public, for Instance, may be obliged in Conscience to *establish* a Religion, and private Subjects, at the same Time, may be obliged in Conscience to *dissent* from it; that both the Parties in War may be obliged in Conscience to prosecute their respective Pretensions, which they think to be just. For here Error in Judgments, on one side or the other, reconciles all Inconsistency. Hence personal Obligations may interfere, but Truth and Right never can; contradictory Truths and absolutely interfering Rights having alike no Place, either in the

\* If two Persons, in contempt of the Laws of Society, whilst the legal Forms are open to them, shall cohabit together as Man and Wife, under a private Contract, it is *an Offence to God*, and one Species of that unlawful Commerce, which the Scripture calls Fornication. *Enquiry into the Force and Operation of the annulling Clauses, &c.* p. 22.

† *Ib.* p. 24.

Principles of the human Mind, or in the Reality of Things.

THE other Condition of any moral or obligatory Act, which renders it still more clearly and unquestionably invalid or null, is the moral Defect in the Agent or contracting Party; the Want of a rightful Power adequate to the particular Species of the Act or Contract under Consideration. If a Subject of Society is destitute of the rightful Power of contracting a Marriage disallowed by the Law; you admit the Consequence, that there is no Obligation arising from such Marriage, either in Law, or in Conscience; or, in other Words, that such Marriage is, in Truth, no Marriage, being defective in a Point essential to Marriage, viz. *A Right to contract it\**. Thus *the Right to contract Marriage will be impeded by a prior Marriage still subsisting*; because that *Right* has been passed away by each Party to the other, irrevocably, during their joynt Lives. Now as a Party in Marriage passes away to the other the natural Right of contracting Marriage *Absolutely*; so may a Member of Society be reasonably presumed to have passed away to the

\* Diff. P. 3.

Public his natural Right of contracting Marriage in *certain particular Cases*, and under *certain particular Circumstances*; in those *particular Cases*, and under those *particular Circumstances*, where the Public, in Consideration of its own important and indispensable Interests, finds it necessary to *prohibit* and *disallow* Marriage. We are both, I think, agreed, that every Right of Government, and, I add, Property too, must be resolved into some original Consent or Composition, either actual or implied, between the Governing and the Governed, the Proprietor and the Community: And as *nothing ought to be imposed as a Law, but what may be resolved into the Consent of the Subject, either tacit or express*\*; so the Exercise of every natural Right in the Subject is supposed to have been restrained, by the very Contract of Civil Society, so far as the public Convenience and Utility, much more so far as the public Necessities shall require. I know not how the Application can be evaded by any one, professing, as you do, the Necessity of instituting and maintaining legal Marriage to every *well-governed Commonwealth*.

\* *Diff.* p. 30.



A Limitation then of the natural Power of contracting Marriage, in every Subject of a Civil State, to the *Solemnities* and *Circumstances* of Marriage, which the Civil State has, upon just and cogent Reasons, thought fit to appoint *as necessary*, being implied in the original Contract of Civil Society; it is plain, that the Subject has not the rightful Power of contracting a Marriage declared by the Law to be *absolutely null and void*. Should he therefore contract Marriage, that is, should he attempt to contract it, in Opposition to the Law; no Obligation of a *Marriage-Contract*, no not in Conscience, can possibly arise from the Act, which in Reality is NO Marriage. Nor is this to assert more, than a Maxim most acknowledged in the Casuistical Science, that no subsequent Obligation \* can take Place in Prejudice of a prior one; or, in other Words, that no Man has a Right over the Property of another. In short, the Subject of Civil Community retains only a *conditionate* Right or Liberty of contracting Mar-

\* A prior Contract subsisting with the Society, all subsequent Contracts made in Contravention to it, must be void. *Enquiry, &c.* p. 11.

riage;

riage; the Right or Liberty of contracting it in some certain *Respects*, being, by his own Act and Deed, passed away to the Public.

A Marriage then between the Subjects of Civil Society, however complete in the Qualifications required by the Law of Nature, but deficient in Qualifications appointed, *as necessary*, by the Law of the State; does not carry with it the *Force of a Marriage* in any Respect whatsoever. In like Manner, a Vow, however complete in the Qualifications required by the Law of Nature, but deficient in Qualifications appointed, as necessary, by the Divine Law, which was the Law of the Jewish State; carried with it *no Force of a Vow*, either in Law, or in Conscience\*. If the Husband

\* Numb. xxx. 6, &c.—*I have often heard it said, that a Marriage-Contract, though,—before this Act was made, it would have been Marriage, by the Intervention of this Act will be no Marriage.* Enq. p. 17. In like Manner, it may be said, that a Vow, though, before the giving of this Divine Law, it would have been a Vow, by the Intervention of this Law would be no Vow.—Nor does any Difference in the Cases arise from the peculiar Quality of the latter Law, as it is *Divine*; the same Author declaring, that **NO LAW IN THE WORLD can make that which in the Nature of it is a Contract to be no Contract; or that which in the Nature of it is binding not to be binding.** p. 19. So  
disallowed

*disallowed* the Vow of his Wife, *on the day that he heard it*; her Vow is declared to have been absolutely of *none Effect*: And that upon this certain Foundation of natural Right, that the Divine Law, the Civil Law, as I said, of the Jewish Nation, which here prescribes the Bounds of her *domestic* Subjection; had *restrain-*  
*ed* in the Wife her original Power of making a Vow, and left her possessed only of a *conditionate* Power. I need not, to justify the Parallel, shew by what Implication of Contract the natural Right of Vowing, in a Subject of the Jewish State, might *in Part* pass away to the Divine Legislator or the Jewish Republic. But, I doubt not, the same Rules and Maxims of

that, according to him, the Divine Law itself could not constitute any certain *Form* or Solemnities, as *necessary* to Marriage. For he says, *If you say, that a Man has no Right to marry, except he marries in the legal [Divine] Form; it will be saying (in Effect) that the Form gives the Right, which is very absurd. The Form does not give, but supposes, the Right, and only directs the Use of it.* ib. p. 22. N. B. Add, *The Form directs the Use of the Right, UNDER THE PAIN OF A NULLITY*, and then there will be nothing *absurd*; there being no *Absurdity* in supposing the *Form* to be as *essential* as the *Matter* in the Constitution of either a natural or a moral Entity.

E

moral



moral Interpretation will justify the States's Power, *to a certain Extent*, over the Marriages of her Subjects, who will be under an Obligation of Conscience and Justice to Laws fitly ordered for that Purpose; these Laws directly deriving their Force from the original Law of Nature, which is undoubtedly Divine.

## S E C T. II.

*Concerning the Power of the State to annul the Marriages of Minors, made without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians.*

**W**E have been hitherto, in great Measure, agreed with regard to the Power of the State, to annul the Marriages of those in Subjection to her, made *without her own Consent*, that is, *prohibited and disallowed by the Law*. Thus, in a certain Respect, is every Subject placed under a Sort of tutelar Protection and Restraint in the important Concern of Marriage. But the common Authority of the State respects the Conditions of Marriage, as they are chiefly directed to her own Peace and Well-being; there is moreover an Authority

more especially dispensed, not without a View to the public Good, but directly and chiefly for the Safety and Benefit of those, who are the immediate Objects of it. This is the Constitution of a Trust, presiding over the Marriages of Minors, and assisted with those Sanctions of Nullity, which the State had found necessary to provide in Support of legal Marriage. The execution of this Trust is, with great Propriety, appointed, in the first Place, to reside in the Father; both as he is *a Parent*, and as he is *the superior Parent*. As he is *a Parent*, the Child is by Nature obliged to a general Honour, Duty and Obedience, endeared by reciprocal Affections, continually enforced by the strongest Motives of Gratitude, and particularly grounded on the true Principle of Duty and all ingenuous Obedience, a moral Assurance of a judicious and affectionate Conduct for its truest Good. As he is *the superior Parent*, he is naturally possessed, not only of the chief Authority to govern the Family, but of the sole Power to dispose the Family-Estate; which Power of Disposition is the most efficacious Means, in the Hands of Civil Government, of enforcing the Necessity of legal Marriage.

riage\*. The Father's Representatives, in the matrimonial Trust, succeed in a just Gradation accommodated to the Regards of his Right, to the Claims of Nature, and to the Arbitration of public Equity; but for Defect of some one or more of those Foundations of Authority, above recited, *peculiar to the Father*, the Trust devolves with Abatement of Power, and under a Reserve of the State's judicial Interposition to direct an irregular Administration to its proper End: A very seasonable Restraint upon the unreasonable and designing, but no just Discouragement to those who are disposed to answer the Confidence of their deceased Friends with a Care and Fidelity proportioned to so sacred and inviolable a Charge†.

\* Why the Father should have the *Right of Consent* to the Son's Marriage, besides the Degree of Paternal Authority peculiar to the antient *Roman State*, there was another Principle of the *Roman Law*, or rather of natural Equity, viz. *Ne cui invito suus heres agnascatur*. *Inst.* L. i. Tit. x. Whence it followed, that when the Grand-father adopted any one *Nepotis loco*, if the Son was continuing in the Father's Power, the Son must be consenting to the Adoption; *Ne ei [Filio] invito suus heres agnascatur*. Tit. seq. § 7. et *Vin.* in loc.

† That bad Men may find their Account in such a Trust, is obvious enough; but good ones can get nothing but Ill-will. *Diff.* p. 52.

And



And on these Terms, and for these Reasons chiefly, has the State thought fit to annul *the Marriages of Minors, made without the Consent of their Parents or Guardians.*

THUS is the Constitution of this Species of Tutelage over Minors, wholly the Effect of the Civil Power; and so Tutelage in general has been accounted of in the most civilized Nations, being always appointed by their Laws\*. What has been said of the Reasons of committing the Trust to Parents or their Representatives, tended only to shew their *peculiar Qualifications in Nature* for that End, not to assert their *Right*. Accordingly there are Instances, in the Cases of those who are of eminent Concernment to the Public, where States exercise the Power exclusively of the Parent's Interposition. Baron Puffendorf, therefore, very justly says, *What Right those Fathers of Families have in this Matter, who live in Civil Societies, must be learnt from the Laws of par-*

\* Est autem Tutela, ut Servius definivit, vis ac potestas in capite libero, ad tuendum eum, qui per ætatem seipsum defendere nequit, *jure civili data ac permessa*. Inst. L. i. T. xiii. 1. Et Tutelam et curam placuit *publicum munus esse*. T. xxv.

*ticular Commonwealths* \*. Nor need you be disturbed with their *different and contradictory Laws*, which, in Matter of *Decency, Convenience, or Necessity*, might well answer their respective Ends, and all of them consist with the Principles of natural Honesty. At the same Time, the general Agreement of civilized States in appointing the *Substance*, however they may differ in the *Circumstances* of a tutelar Administration of Marriage, is a very good Argument both of the Reasonableness and Justice of the Institution, and its Civil Utility.—I will only observe, by Way of Corollory, that we have hence a clear Account, why a Minor's Marriage, which *the Law bath annulled* for Want of the Parent's Consent, ought not to *be made good by his After-Consent* †; and, likewise, upon what Grounds the Minor's illegal Act should be *treated, as if it were an Offence against the State, and not, as you consider it, against a private Family only* ‡. The Right of ordering Marriages, as

\* *Puffend. De jure Nat, L. vi. c. 2. § 12. cited Diff. p. 25.*

† *Diff. p. 53.—Consensum habeant Parentum,---in tantum, ut jussus Parentum præcedere debeat. Inst. L. i. T. x.*

‡ *Ib. p. 54.*

the Right of Life and Death, is the essential Prerogative of the supreme Civil Power ; but the Administration of them may be committed in different Degrees and to different Persons or Orders of the Common-wealth, according to the different Exigencies, or the particular Genius and Constitution of each respective State : And the Administration of them both, in the greatest Plenitude and Extent, was accordingly exercised, partly from Commission, partly from Connivance of the State, by Fathers and Masters over their Families and Dependents in the *Roman Republic*.

It was therefore of small Importance to our present Dispute, to prove so elaborately as you do from *Grotius* \*, that Parents have not *naturally* the Right of Consent, necessary to the Validity of their Children's Marriage. For though they may not have that Right *by Nature*, yet *Nature does not hinder*, but that it may be derived to them from *the positive Will* of those who have the Right ; and then it is assuredly the Parent's Right by the Force of the natural Law itself. For the same excel-

\* *Diff.* pp. 6---15.



lent Person, in describing the Law of Nature, very well observes, *That the Law of Nature does not only respect those Things, which subsist independently on positive Will; but many Things likewise, which are the Consequences or Effects of it.* So Property, as it is now in Use, was first introduced by the positive Will of Man; but now it is introduced, it is an Offence against the Law of Nature to violate it\*.—He had just before said, that some Things are belonging to the Law of Nature; not properly, but, as the Schools speak, reductively; such as bear no Repugnancy to that Law: Or, in other Words, there is a Law of Nature Preceptive, and a Law of Nature Permissive. Now that every Person that marries, by that very Act shuts himself out of the Father's Family†; and, in Consequence, that the Act of the Son's Marriage is not under the Father's Dominion‖; these are Principles, not of the Law of Nature Preceptive, but of the Law of Nature Permissive; and they are true Principles, not absolutely, but on Supposition; or, on Condition of the positive Will of those, who have just Authority

\* Grot. De Jure Bell. &c. i. l. 10. 3, 4.

† Diff. p. 18.

‖ Ib. p. 8.

in the Case, not interposing to the contrary. The Law of the *Roman* State, therefore, actually *did*, as it very justly *might*, interpose to hinder the Son's *legal* Independence on his Father's Family till the Act of Emancipation; and, on the same Principle, the latter might retain *under his Dominion* the Grand-Child, and, consequently, the Act of his Marriage, as well as his other legal Acts. For as it is a Principle of the Law of Nature Permissive only \*, *Qui uxorem ducit, extra familiam abit*; and which will vindicate the Son's Liberty of Marriage in a *State of mere Nature*: So the other Principle, alledged by *Grotius*, to shew both the Reason and the Limitation of the parental Power, whether in a State of Nature, or of Civil Society, *Æquum est, ut pars conveniat cum ratione integri*; this is a Principle of the Law of Nature Preceptive, and of absolute and immutable Truth. Hence you

\* The same may be said of the Rule laid down, *Diff. p. 31. viz.* That the Father, though he may dispose of his own Estate, as he pleases, cannot dispose of the Estate of his Son, nor subject it to Limitations of any kind whatsoever, without the Son's Consent.—*Ut omnes res liberorum Parentibus adquirantur, non naturale est, sed ex quorundam populorum legibus. Grot. De jure Bell. &c. ii. 5. 2. 2.*

may observe, with what Accuracy *Puffendorf* had asserted, that *the Master of the Family has naturally no Right to prohibit or rescind the Marriages of his Children, defective in no other Point than this, [that they were contracted without his Consent] PROVIDED THE CHILDREN, SO MARRYING, ARE READY TO GO OUT OF THE FATHER'S FAMILY\**. And upon the same Principle *Vinnius* argues in Behalf of the Parent's Authority over the moral Acts of his Child, *not of this or that particular Age, but of all Ages without Distinction†*.

THE Tutelage of Minors, with respect to their Marriage, in the State of Civil Society, appearing thus to be the Effect of the Civil Law; Considerations of Nature or Utility, of public or private Policy, are apt to determine different States either to limit or to extend its Duration. According to you, *If the Law should say, that no Woman shall marry till she is fourteen Years of Age, nor any Man till he is sixteen, it would be a very safe and a rea-*

\* *Puffend. De Jur. N. L. vi. c. 2. § 14. cited Diff. p. 18*

† *Vinnius in Inst. L. i. T. x. cited Diff. p. 24.*



*sonable Law* \*. The Marriages made within these Periods respectively must, consequently, be null. When you farther observe, that in fixing the Age of Marriage, *Care should always be taken rather to fall a little below the Standard of Nature, than rise much above it*; this is very true, in fixing the Age, within which Marriage shall be null Absolutely. But in fixing the Period, within which Marriage shall be null when made *without the Consent of Parents or Guardians*; the general Reason of the Minor's Security, and Reasons peculiar to Families or States, may determine *rather to rise, in a greater or less Extent, above the Standard of Nature, than to fall below it*. The Benefit of the Minor, which is chiefly intended in this, as well as every other Species of Tutelage, would naturally extend its Duration to the Period of Ripeness of Judgment and deliberate Choice, which is sufficient for transacting every other important Concern of Life. And if *Experience and Observation must be consulted, to know at what Age Persons ordinarily arrive at this Period* †; I presume they have been *consulted* in stating the same

\* *Diff.* p. 5.† *Ib.* p. 4.

Period for the Determination of two Trusts, between which there appears to be a just Analogy.

I say, there is a just Analogy between the two Trusts, the one instituted for the Security of the Person of the Minor, with Regard to his Marriage; the other instituted for the Security of his Civil Interests \*. They both proceed

\* In the *Roman Law*, *Tutela*, which continued till the Minor arrived at the Age of Puberty, was supplied by *Curatio* till the Age of twenty-five Years. *Tutor primario Personæ*; *secundario Rei*: *Curator primario Rei*; *secundario Personæ dabatur*. Now the *tutelar Trust* of a Minor's Marriage has Respect to his *Estate*. Thus *Diff.* p. 54. in its Address to Minors, says, *The Law has secured your Estates*. And the Person invested with the Trust may be called upon to sit as Judge to determine the Fate of a whole Family. p. 51. Hence is seen the great Propriety of this Trust, in order to attain the Ends of a general Guardianship. But the Author of the *Enquiry* will not allow, that because the Law may settle the Time when a Minor shall come to the Use of his Estate, therefore it may as well settle the Time when a Minor shall marry. For what, says he, is it that the Law settles? Why, not THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MINOR'S RIGHT to the Estate,---which arises not from the Law, but from the Person under whom the Minor claims? p. 18. Not. But the Law, or the Community, does sustain the Person of the Minor, and consequently the Right to his Estate; as it likewise sustains for him the Right of contracting Marriage; in order to dispose them equally for his Benefit.

upon

upon the common Reason of the Imperfection of his Judgement and Experience, and of the Temerity of his Youth. In Remedy of these

For *Grotius* well observes, *Notandum et hoc, si solum jus naturale spectamus, dominium non dari, nisi in eo, qui ratione utitur. Sed jus Gentium ob utilitatem communem introduxit, ut et infantes et furiosi dominia accipere et retinere possent, personam illorum interim quasi sustinente humano genere. De Jur. Belli, etc. ii. 3. 6.* The Doctor indeed may seem to think, that the principal, or rather only Reason of the late Constitution of a tutelar Trust over the Minor's Marriage, was the Consideration of his *Estate*; since there would, he says, be no Difficulty in this Matter, if *Estates* were put out of the Question. *Diff. p. 50.* Yet he suggests an Exception against the Propriety of a Marriage, which a wise and a good Man would lay more Strefs upon, than a Defect in Point of Fortunes; and that is a bad moral Character: But he doubts whether a Court of Chancery would attend to such an Exception, p. 52. Note y. Notwithstanding that Exception may well be implied in the Words of the Act,—a PROPER Marriage; and notwithstanding it has been attended to in Courts of Justice. *Dissentiendi a patre licentia filiae conceditur, si indignum moribus, vel turpem sponsum ei pater eligat. Digg. L. xxvi. T. i. 1. § 1.* Lastly, The Parallel between a tutelar Trust of Marriage and a general Guardianship may hold with regard to the frequent Recourse, which, he predicts, will be had to Chancery, on the Occasion of the former; for the same Resort he has observed of late Years, in the Management of an Estate for the Benefit of Minors, and the Care of their Education. p. 51.

almost



almost universal Infelicities, Society is able to provide another *Help*, besides *leaving him to himself*, or *the sovereign Disposer of Things*\*, who has every where been pleased to serve the great Uses of his Providence by the beneficial Contrivances of human Policy. The same common Reason then, which will shew *why the Law may restrain a Minor from passing away his Estate*, will likewise hold to prove, *that the State may deny its Protection to his Marriage*†, or *restrain him from unadvisedly passing away his Person for Life*. And to shew, that there is nothing *peculiar* in the Marriage-Contract to destroy the Analogy; *Puffendorf* judiciously observes, that *carnal Knowledge and the Consent of the Parties cohabiting together, where the Civil Laws disallow, can no more render a Marriage valid, than a Sale and Delivery made by a Minor, without the Consent of his Guardian, can pass away the Title of his Estate*‡.

\* *Diff.* p. 49.

† *Ib.* p. 29.

‡ *De Jur. Nat. L. vi. 2. § ult.* cited *Diff.* p. 28. *The State of Marriage arises immediately upon the Contract, binding the Consciences of both Parties, ESPECIALLY IF CONSUMMATION FOLLOWS. Enquiry, etc. p. 6.* As if a *Delivery* (analogous to *Consummation*) could give *Validity* to a Bargain, null in itself or annulled by the Law.

WE come to consider the Extent and Foundation of the *Nullity* of a Minor's Marriage, which Nullity is declared by a standing Law of the State. First, Is it a Nullity *in Law*, or does it extend to *Conscience*? I answer; There is no subsisting *Obligation of Marriage*, arising from the Minor's Act, either in *Law*, or in *Conscience*. This *Puffendorf* himself declares in the very Passage, which you have recited from him in favour of a different Opinion; where speaking of public Laws, which discourage or wholly disallow some particular Species of Marriage; *Which Laws*, says he, *may have this Effect, that a Marriage contracted contrary to them, shall either be divested of certain Civil Privileges, or Effects; or else be intirely rescinded, i. e. made utterly null and void* \*. For it has been usual with States, from Maxims of Civil Policy, to *distinguish* some Kinds of Marriage, or Marriage of certain particular Persons, with Civil Privileges, which other Marriages were *divested of*, though

\* Quorum legum ea vis esse potest, ut quod contra easdem contrahitur connubium, certis effectibus, per jus civile assignatis, destituatur, vel etiam omnino pro invalido, et quod *rescissionem* admittat, *declaretur*. *De Jur. Nat. L. vi. c. i. § 8. Diff. p. 27.*

they

they were not so much as *disapproved* by the State\*. Other Marriages were divested of particular Civil Privileges, which the Law conferred on *approved* Marriage, that they might be *discouraged*, but by no Means *annulled*. Lastly, There were Marriages *discouraged* and prohibited under *the Pain of a Nullity*. Of the two latter Species, the Baron was here speaking; and had he been confining himself to the Consideration of *Christian* Marriages, I may venture to presume he might perhaps have *confessed*, that *no Act of Law can destroy the Vinculum Matrimonii, as it lies in Conscience*, when it has not *dissolved* itself by the Existence of an Event originally implied in the Contract of *Christian* Marriage; but he would have asserted at the same Time, that the standing Law of Society can *impede* the *Vinculum Matrimonii* from ever taking Place at all, and consequently from deriving on the Contractor the least *Obligation of a Marriage*, either in *Law*, or in *Conscience*.

\* *Justae nuptiae servili contubernio opponuntur; non quod non liceat—servo secum mulierem habere in contubernio; sed quod—nuptiae solennes peculiares quosdam et jure civili effectus habeant. Grot. De Jure Belli, etc.*



AGAINST the Nullity in Law, in the Case of a Minor's Marriage, you argue by demanding; *By what Rule of Construction, i. e. of the original Contract of Society, a Presumption will lie, that the Son, who, in entering into Society, must be understood as having reserved to himself his natural Right to contract Marriage, CONSENTS, that, in case he shall find it proper to make use of this Right, a Disherison shall pass against his whole Issue, and that himself, with the Partner of his Bed, shall be exposed to the Shame and Punishment of those, who live together in a State of Fornication\*?* What? Must then the Son, in entering into Society, be understood as having reserved to himself his NATURAL Right to contract Marriage? What? As having reserved to himself the Right to contract Marriage, before he is arrived at the Age of sixteen Years, against a reasonable Law†? As having reserved the Right to contract Marriage solemnized in illegal Places? Marriage without Banns or Licences? If the Son must be understood as having reserved to himself the Right to contract Marriage under all these Circumstances, which is undoubtedly his natural Right; where then

\* Diff. p. 32.

† Ib. p. 5.

is the acknowledged *Wisdom* and *Justice* of *Laws* annulling *such* Marriage\*? Pray, Sir, consider, that a *Person* may have *Right* in *himself*, and yet, in the *Use* of that *Right*, be under a *Variety* of *Obligations* to others†; of *Obligations* of *strict Justice* to *Society*, which can as *justly*, at least, (for that is sufficient for our present Purpose) prescribe, in certain Cases and Circumstances, the *Use* and Exercise of the *Right*, as the Possessor of it can be supposed to *have* it in *himself*.

BUT, if it was your Intention to demand, Can the Son, who, in entering into Society, must be understood as having reserved to himself his natural Right to contract Marriage, *such* Marriage as shall be allowed by the Law of the Community to which he made himself subject; be presumed to have consented, that, in case he should find it proper to contract Marriage, *such* as stands utterly prohibited and disallowed by the Law of that Community, a Disinheritance shall pass against his whole Issue, and that himself, with the Partner of his Bed, shall be exposed to the Shame and Punishment of those, who live together in a State

\* *Diff. Pref.* p. ii.

† *Enquiry, etc.* p. 9.

of Fornication? I answer directly, that the Son *can* be presumed, and that he *must* be presumed to have consented to all this. On the one Hand, the State is certainly invested with the Power, received from the Son himself, to prohibit certain Marriages under the Pain of a Nullity: On the other Hand, *a Man may reasonably be presumed as consenting to lay himself and his Children under any Inconveniences or Incapacities, to tie up his Hands from doing unlawful Things* \*? And particularly; *Does not every Man, who unlawfully cohabits with a Woman, bastardize his Issue* †.

LASTLY, Should your Meaning be to assert, or rather to assume, that *the Son*, in entering into Society, must be understood as having reserved to himself his natural Right to contract *Marriage without the Consent of his Parents or Guardians*; then your Argument, completed, as before, in its Form, will be found to depend wholly upon the illegitimate Foundation of a palpable *Petitio Principii*. For would Baron *Puffendorf*, think you, or any one in his right Senses, who is asserting the Power of the State to make the Consent

\* *Diff.* p. 40.

† *Ib.* p. 41.



of Parents NECESSARY to the Son's Marriage; *suppose* nevertheless, that the Son, in entering into Society, must be understood as having reserved to himself his natural Right to contract Marriage WITHOUT that Consent? And yet this very *Supposition*, as palpable a *Petitio Principii* as it appears to be, is arbitrarily laid down, and several Times insisted on, as allowed by your Adversaries. Thus you say, *No Man in his right Senses ever can be presumed to be consenting to a Law, to bar his Right to his Estate, and to bastardize his Issue; WHILST THERE IS NO DEFAULT IN ANY MATTER, IN WHICH THE SOCIETY HAS A RIGHT TO REQUIRE HIS OBEDIENCE\**. And quickly after, *The Right to marry, i. e. without the Parent's Consent, is out of the Question. This is a Right which the Minor cannot † give up.*

\* *Diff.* p. 35.

† *Ib.* p. 36. So p. 19. *The Child does but exercise its NATURAL Right, and he would be an unnatural Father, who, because his Child takes an HONEST Liberty, could stand by and see it STARVE, i. e. disinherited.*—Where three Things are observable. 1. The Parent, neither by the Law of Nature, nor by the Law of Society, can stand by and see his Child starve, i. e. disinherited as to the *Necessaries* of Life; except the Child has committed a Crime *deserving Death*.

IN short, your Adversaries *must* maintain, in Consistency with *their* Principles; and so must you maintain, in Consistency with *yours*, concerning the Power of Laws to annul Marriages solemnized in *illegal Places*, and without *Banns* or *Licences*; that every Person, in entering into Society, must be understood as having reserved to himself *only so much* of his natural Right to contract Marriage, as the public Wisdom, directed by the Maxims of good Government, and in order to obtain the important Ends of Civil Society, has thought it fitting to allow: And therefore in case he should find it proper to contract Marriage, contrary to the Obligation of his own Act and Deed, and in Violation of a Right of great Concernment to the Civil Welfare; he must,

2. The Child takes a Liberty that is *honest*, and exercises what is a *Right*, in a State of Nature only, not in a State of Society. 3. The Parent exercises a Right, which he hath both by the Law of Nature and by the Law of Society, in disinheriting a disobedient Child: Nay, a Right, which the Doctor himself, must think reasonable to be exercised, if he says to Parents with any just Meaning; *You are Masters of the Estate and Fortunes of your Families, which will always be a great Check upon your Children, ordinarily sufficient to keep them back, when they begin to find their Inclinations running contrary to your Judgments.* p. 47.

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in like Manner, be understood as having consented, to admit all the Consequences of a Marriage *null and void* in itself ; the Civil Inconveniences and Incapacities, upon himself, his Issue, and the Partner of his Bed, which the Community has an unquestionable Right to inflict, and which it has accordingly denounced by a standing Constitution, in the necessary Support of the legal Institution of Marriage.

A SUBJECT of Civil Community is here understood to have consented to a Limitation of his *natural Liberty of Acting* ; but he cannot, in like Manner, be understood to have consented to a Limitation of his *natural and necessary Power of Thinking* ; in Conformity to the Appointments of public Wisdom. So that a Man cannot be understood as having reserved to himself his natural Right to contract Marriage, *in the same unlimited Extent*, as he may, and indeed *must* be understood as having reserved to himself *his natural Right to chuse his Religion, and to worship God according to his own Judgment and Conscience* \*. But to avail yourself of a Comparison between the Cases of

\* *Diff.* p. 32.



a publicly established Religion, and a publicly established Law of Marriage ; you must shew, that the exacted Payment of *Fifty Shillings a-year*\* is as *proper* a Means of rectifying Error in dissenting from the established Worship, as *bastardizing* the Issue of an illegal Cohabitation of the Sexes is of correcting Licentiousness : And that *Banishment, Confiscation, or any other Species of Persecution* of those, *who think it not reasonable to comply with the Religion of their Country*† ; can either be necessary for the Support of the national Religion, or, by Force of any Principle of good Government or natural Justice, be inflicted by the State upon those her Subjects, who *could not* but reserve to themselves their *natural Right to chuse their Religion and Worship* ; and who intitle themselves to an equitable Share of the common Protection, by the Practice of a religious Worship, which is not injurious to the Civil Peace, and by giving to the State all the religious Securities of Civil Obedience †.

\* Ib. p. 38.

† Ib. p. 32.

† Every Man must worship God according to his own Judgment and Conscience. This Principle shuts out from Society all oppressive Laws, to compel Men to this or that particular Manner of Worship ; *and no other Principle can.* Enquiry, &c. p. 12. Yes, there is *another Principle,*  
AND

A N D, in general, by stating with Moderation and Candour, *what* natural Rights are unalienable, and *cannot* be given up to Society, and *how far* the alienable Right *must* be given up to it, in support of its beneficial Establishments, whether religious or civil; we may discover, what there certainly is, *according to the common Sense of Mankind, viz. the Rule of receding from private Right for the Sake of the public Good, and its proper Limitations* \*. The Question of public Utility we will leave to be considered by *Legislators, who should be presumed best to know how far they may go, and when it will be fit to stop.* I would only observe, that if it be *admitted to be for the public Good, that Minors should not be suffered to marry without their Parent's Consent* †; a *standing Institution of real Utility to the Public* bids very fair for not interfering, either

which *shuts out all oppressive Laws, viz. the Inoffensiveness of the Worship different from the established one, and its Consistency with the Civil Peace and Welfare.* And as this Quality of the Worship will entitle it to a *Toleration* from the State, so a contrary Quality of a Worship or Religion, however *according to Mens Judgment and Conscience,* may as justly deserve to be *restrained from being injurious to Society,*

\* *Diff.* p. 38.

† *Diff.* p. 37.

with the unalienable Rights of Individuals, or with any certain Principles of natural Honesty. Enough has been said to justify the Presumption of the Minor's consenting to a Law appointed for his particular Benefit, where, for a momentary Abatement of natural Liberty of little Worth, he receives in Exchange the durable Privilege, either of securing his Person, *against* his Inclinations, from a rash Disposition, or else of disposing it *agreeably to* \* his Inclinations, under the Conduct of a Discretion and Affection, which generally both *can* and *will* dictate his true Interests, and *will not*, by the *Aid of* a delegated Power, *obstruct his reasonable Desires* †. Nor is it extraordinary in Life, much less unsupposeable in Law, which generally presumes People to *have* done what, in Reason and from the Nature of the Business, they *ought* to have done, that a Person, under a Consciousness of his Temerity, Inability, or Inhableness to be deceived to his Harm, should tie up his Hands *even against himself*; which has accordingly been done by those, who have

\* To Minors, as *they have no Choice left*, my Advice will be short. *Diff.* p. 53.

† *Ib.* p. 47.



been possessed of Sovereign Rule, even as to the most immediate and distinguished Acts of their Sovereignty \*.

BUT is not the Right of Marriage *one of those essential Points of private Right* †, which cannot be given up? Is it not like the unalienable Rights of Food and Raiment, which were given for the necessary Preservation of the Individual, and of which no one can make a Cession to another, so as to bind himself to be fed or cloathed as that other pleases ‡?—The Right of Marriage is an unalienable Right; and therefore it would be both *unjust* and *cruel* to make a Law forbidding *all*, or *any* Number of Subjects to marry, who, not having the Gift of Continency, must be forced to a Condition of Life *unsupportable to human Nature* ||. Upon this Principle all Vows of Celibacy of an absolute Meaning and Extent, besides that they carry the Depravity of a mi-

\* Erat Antiochi tertii Regis rescriptum ad magistratus, *ne parerent*, si quid Legibus adversum jussisset; et Constantini, ne pupilli aut viduæ cogantur venire judicii causa ad Comitatum Imperatoris, *etiamsi Imperatoris rescriptum proferatur*. Grot. De jure Belli, &c. 1. 3. 18.

† Diff. p. 39.

‡ Enquiry, &c. pp. 11, 2.

|| Diff. pp. 43, 4, 5.

staken

staken Piety and the Injury of an Institution unfavourable to the Good of Societies, are in themselves unlawful and vain. On the very same Principle I cannot but disapprove what you would have enjoyed as *a very safe and a reasonable Law*, viz. that *no Man shall marry till he is Sixteen Years of Age* \* : Since, as you yourself confess, in Effect, the Consequence might be *injurious and intolerable* to a *few*. Nor can indeed any standing and perpetual Law, *absolutely* prohibiting Marriage within a certain Period of Age, be so contrived as to be beneficial to the Public, and not at the same Time intolerable to many Particulars. This is the very Evil, which the Constitution of a tutelar Government over Marriage was provided to redress ; it being the only Expedient imaginable, whether it is administered by the Magistrate or the Parent, to afford occasionally an adequate Supply of Reason, for the Conduct of a blind and precipitate Passion, and to moderate between the Rigour of a Rule established for the general Benefit, and a mischievous Deviation from it agreeably to the Bent of particular Inclinations. And must not the Use and Exercise of the most inherent and

\* Ib. p. 5.

essential Rights of Human Nature, of the Rights of *Eating* and *Cloathing*; be subject to sundry Sorts of Regulation? Must they not be subject to Regulation regarding the natural Good of the Individual, the Regulation of Temperance and Usefulness? Must they not be subject to Regulation regarding his Estate, the Regulation of Oeconomy? Must they not be subject, in the most especial Place, to Regulation regarding Society; that the Manner of Gratification be consistent with Decency, and that the Means of Gratification be not either forbidden by the Law, or injurious to private Property? And what is there absurd or impracticable in a like Regulation of the Right or natural *Appetite to Marriage*? An Appetite, to which *Nature herself will not permit a Child to listen till it hath Understanding sufficient to discern between Good and Evil*\*; and which the innumerable Occasions and Circumstances of Mankind, in every supposeable Condition of Life, must require very frequently to submit to Resolution, or to be subdued by Labour, Abstraction, and reasonable Self-denial? Is not this Appetite, in a far less limited Extent, subject to the Discipline of personal Virtue,

\* *Diff.* p. 9.



analogous to Temperance ; the Regulation of Chastity ? Is it not capable of being swayed or restrained by Considerations of Prudence, of private Duty, of public Good ; and especially of just Authority ? If this is not the Case, to what Purpose do you advise Minors *to shew Reverence to their Parents, and to the Law ; and NEVER to suffer themselves to entertain a Thought of disposing themselves in Marriage, without the Leave of those under whose Jurisdiction the Law hath placed them\**.

BUT this *Jurisdiction* may possibly be abused ; and a *cautious* and *timorous*, a *cruel* and *unnatural* Parent may obstruct, not only the *reasonable*, but the *necessary* Desires of his Child †. This is placing the Argument in its strongest Point of View. This, it must be owned, is an Instance of Extremity, for which the Law *has* not provided : And is it not an inherent Imperfection of all human Laws ; is not the Execution of the best Laws so liable to be perverted by Error, by Passion, by Acci-

\* *Diff.* pp. 53, 4.

† See *Enquiry into the Force*, etc. p. 26. Note. Yet the Doctor declares, that *there would be no Difficulty in this Matter, if Estates were put out of the Question.* *Diff.* p. 50.

dent, that they cannot provide for all the Extremities incident to the human Condition? May not Parties, of whatever Age or Estate, be *possibly* so circumstanced, as to be rendered incapable of obtaining *legal* Marriage? Marriage in authorized *Places*? Marriage with *Banns* or *Licence*? Every Person, who is of *Age to marry*, is of *Age to work*, and may be compelled to maintain himself and Family, so far as his own *Labour and Industry* will go. But if this is not sufficient, he stands for the rest as an *Object of the charitable Assistance of those who abound*\*. I ask then; If *those who abound* do so far abuse the Trust, which Providence has committed to them, as not to afford him and his Family *necessary Food and Raiment*; how is the natural Right of *Eating and Cloathing* provided for in this Case? Cases are very obvious, in which the Law of Society can make *no* Provision: The Law of Nature almost *always* does. To the real Necessities of Nature every thing of positive Institution yields. In the certain and imminent Danger of a Community from the Injustice of the governing Powers, all Regards of instituted Authority submit to the unalienable Right of Self-

\* *Enquiry*, etc. p. 9.

Defence. The same Right of Nature arms a private Person with a temporary Power of judicial Execution against an unjust Aggressor. So does the universal Law of Property, supposed to be introduced by Men conscious of the Infirmities of human Nature, and sensible of the Uncertainties incident to the human Condition, undergo a temporary Suspension in Favour of Indigence, neither relievable by Industry, nor relieved by Benevolence. This is a Decision undoubtedly true in Theory; but it belongs to Society to judge, whether it ought in Practice to hearken to the Plea of *real* Necessity, for Fear of encouraging *false* Pretensions, to the Dissolution of good Government, and to the Violation of private Right. Civil Judicature therefore shall have Cognizance of the *sanctified* Trespas; and, as the Case may require, or the Nature of the Civil Constitution direct, relieve by a mitigating Interposition of Law, or recommend to the Relief of a benign Prerogative. Exactly parallel is the Case of a Marriage-Contract, which an unfeigned Necessity entitles to a temporary Exemption from the Civil Law of Marriage: But a Concern of such Importance to Society justly claims the Cognizance of the Legislative,

rather



rather than the Executive, Power; and, after mature Consideration of what the Extremity of Circumstance may or might require, and what the Order of Society can admit, Civil Law may supply a Redress by a timely Interposition or by an equitable Retrospect. In such an Extremity, unredressable by a timely Interposition; a Case barely supposable, and in Favour of which a just Policy would no more provide an Exception from the general Law of Marriage, than it would provide an Exception in Favour of offending, in like Circumstances, against the universal Law of Property: In such an Extremity only, may the Parties in a Contract of Marriage, publicly prohibited and disallowed, be justified in accounting themselves *Man and Wife before God*\*; there being, *in this Respect*, a temporary Cessation of their legal Relation to Society; and there being in themselves neither real, nor intended Disobedience to the Law of Society; especially if Society is permitted its essential Right of Cognizance in the last Resort. And I will still further add, that in the Case of interfering Necessities, of public, on the one Hand, and of private, on the other,

\* See *Enquiry into the Force*, etc. p. 19.

the former *must* prevail, no less in *Right*, than in *Fact*. For would you, for the *necessary* Relief of Hunger, extort from your Father his Morsel, without which he must inevitably starve? I answer for you; You would *not*. In the Place of your Father put your Country, our common Parent with his Family of Millions!

IN short, I observe once for all, that the *Right* of Marriage is a *natural* Right, but the Obligation arising from a *Contract* of Marriage is a *positive* Obligation. Now all positive Obligations whatsoever are both subsequent and inferior to the Obligation arising from the original Contract of Society. For Man is an *Animal*, but a *rational* and a *social* Animal; and as no Demands of the *animal* Nature can be complied with, but those that are agreeable to the Dictates of right Reason; so the Dictates of right Reason, in the first and most especial Place, oblige us to the Cultivation of orderly Society. On any other moral Foundation it will be impossible to reconcile the interfering Considerations of personal and social Good, and to establish an Harmony of the Virtues under the Description of an universal Benevolence. On the same Foundation public

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Necessities prevail against all private Right; Civil Laws can controul all the positive Means of Obligation between Man and Man; and every private Affection is both comprehended under, and to be regulated by, the Love of our Country \*.

To apply these Observations to our further Use.—The Obligation of Society being the first and the sovereign of all Obligations arising from the Act and Will of Man; the *strongest Act* of Society, prohibiting Marriage under the Pain of *absolute* Nullity, must needs, like a *magic Wand* †, make to vanish and disappear, or rather, not extinguish or destroy, as if it was once in Being; but prevent and preclude the very Existence of every Obligation, in Law or in Conscience, of the *prohibited* Marriage. For what *magic* Quality is there *peculiar* to the Contract of a Marriage, which should exempt it from the universal Law of Contracts made with ever so great Solemnity, and even confirmed by an Oath? *The general Construction* therefore upon the late *Act*, that if a young

\* Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. *Cicero De Offic. i. 17.*

† *Diff. p. 48.*



*Gentleman should marry a Woman against his Father's or Guardian's Consent, he may marry another without the least Scruple* \*; as it is a *Construction* agreeable to the general Consent of Mankind, so it is warranted by the most uncontested Principles of Justice and Government. For has not the *strongest Act* of Society fully authorised the *Right* of the Parent's or Guardian's Consent, as an *essential Ingredient*, or one of the *constituent Properties* of the young Gentleman's Marriage? It is not the *Consideration* of the Parent's being under Society simply and absolutely †, but it is the *Consideration* of his BEING UNDER A SOCIETY, WHICH HAS THUS AUTHORISED HIS RIGHT OF CONSENT, that gives him the *Power* over the Marriage of his Child; whose Act of Marriage therefore, being destitute of the Property now made *essential* by the Law of Society, can neither *exist* at first under the *Nature* of a Marriage, nor derive a subsequent *Obligation of Marriage*, either in *Law*, or in *Conscience*.

THIS is a *direct* Proof of the Point in Question. You have afforded me another Proof, arising *ab absurdo*. For, you say ‡, *If the Law*

\* *Diff.* p. 48.† *lb.* p. 28.‡ *Ib.* p. 49.

*cannot reach the Vinculum Matrimonii, as it lies in Conscience, but only regulates its Civil Effects; it is clear, that the only thing a conscientious Parent will have to do, in Case of his Child's marrying without his Consent, is to get the Couple married in the legal Form as fast as he can. You very pertinently here ask, But to what Use then serves the Law? Allowing your whole Argument, that it then serves to no Use at all \*; I will make it the Foundation of the Conclusion, that the Law certainly must reach the Vinculum Matrimonii, as it lies in Conscience.*

To instance in a *Divine Law. If a Woman vow a Vow unto the Lord, and bind herself by a Bond, being in her Father's House, in her Youth;—if her Father disallow her in the Day that he beareth, not any of her Vows, or of her Bonds—shall stand †.* Here is a Vow, let the Matter of it be what it will, of religious or secular Quality, made, with all proper So-

\* Nay, the Doctor goes further. *The Law, says he, adds nothing but Force; Force is abhorrent to human Nature, and may draw upon you and your Children Mischiefs.—For Mischief there may be, unless you could find a Nullity, etc. Diff. p. 48.*

† Numb. xxx. 3, 4, 5.

lemnities, by a Woman placed under two Circumstances of Incapacity, her *being in her Father's House*, or in a State of Subjection; and her *being in her Youth*, or in a State of Minority. With regard to the former Circumstance of Incapacity, the Vow, according to *Vinnius's* Description, which is very just, is *a Promise made to God, in Prejudice of the Parent's Right* \*. Now I would ask you, by the by, whether upon the same Principle of domestic Government, the Marriage of the Child, without the Parent's Consent, would not be an Engagement of Contract *made to Man only in Prejudice of the Parent's Right*; even *naturally* provided the Child *should chuse* to continue in his *Father's House*; or *civilly*, provided he continued a *legal* Part of his Father's Family; as obtained by a standing Constitution in the *Roman* State. If you answer in the Affirmative; is there not the same Efficacy of an express Law of the Land to constitute the Child, *as to the Concern of his Marriage* †, under a temporary Subjection to his Parent's Power ‡?

\* See *Diff.* p. 21.

† So there is in the *Roman* Law, *Curatio certae rei*.

‡ Bishop *Stillingfleet* well observes, that *the Scripture only informs us, that Marriage was a divine Institution*,



THE other Circumstance of Incapacity, mentioned in the Divine Law, is a Woman's *being in her Youth*, or in the State of her Minority; with regard to which Circumstance especially, I presume, *Puffendorf* had assigned the Reason of the Law, which you are willing to admit, viz. *Lest Women in their imprudent*

*and that not merely to continue at Pleasure, but to be a perpetual Bond of Society between a Man and his Wife; and upon this Principle he did not see how either Church or State can null the Contract, as to Conscience, so as to make it lawful for such Persons to marry others. Miscel. Disc. p. 72.* Afterwards declaring, that *the Child hath NO POWER to dispose of himself in Marriage before the Age of twenty-one, according to the Canons of our Church, without the Parent's Consent; and, in Favour of that Constitution, alledging the Authority of the Civil Law, the Testimonies of Nations not subject to the Roman Empire, the Opinions of Fathers, and the Practice of the Greek and other Christian Churches to this very Day; he concludes with telling us, that, notwithstanding all this, the Canonists and Casuists, although they do not defend the Lawfulness of such Marriages; yet say they are not void, nor can be void by the Dissent of Parents. But there are two particular Reasons, which moved these to reject the Necessity of Parent's Consent; First, Allowing them the Power to ENTER INTO RELIGIOUS VOWS, without and against the Consent of Parents, to which they found THIS CASE PARALLEL: Secondly, Making Matrimony a Sacrament, and so bringing it wholly under the Church's Power. Ib. p. 78. etc.*

Years,

Years, *misted by a Shew of Piety*, should undo themselves by *vowing more than their Fortunes would bear*; or, in your Words, *imprudently ruin their Fortunes* \*. Now, not to insist again, that the same Reason will more strongly enforce a Restraint over a Minor from *imprudently ruining* both his Happiness and his Fortunes too; I say, Did the Divine Law discharge the Woman from *the Obligation of her Vow*, as it could lie in *Conscience*; or it did not? If it *did* so discharge her; the Application is at Hand: If it did *not* discharge her, then, I ask, *To what Use served the Vow?* And; Would not *the only Thing a conscientious Parent* would have to do be to get the Vow performed *as fast as possible?*

I KNOW, some over-scrupulous Commentators upon the Text have imagined, that the Woman's Vow would recover its Efficacy of Obligation, at least in Conscience, upon the Event of her becoming free from her Father's Dominion. But besides the Reason just now insisted on, that then the Law could *serve to no Use*; as it is expressly said, that *the Lord* would *forgive her* the Performance of her Vow, so, if

\* *Puffend. De Jur. Nat. vi. 2. 12. Diff. pp. 22, 3.*  
there

there could remain to her any Obligation whatsoever, touching that Concern, it must be an Obligation to render some religious Service of Charge or Repentance, in Attonement for the Rashness and Indiscretion, the Undutifulness or Irreligion of an incompetent Vow. In like Manner, I by no Means deny, that, though from the *Substance* of every Species of Marriage, prohibited under the Pain of absolute Nullity, there certainly does arise *no* Obligation whatsoever, to be fulfilled *according to the Law of Marriage*; yet from the moral Qualifications or Dispositions of the Parties contracting, and from the *Circumstances* attending the whole Transaction of such Contract, there may arise some sort of inferior Obligation, to be fulfilled *according to a Law derived from the more diffusive and universal Sources of commutative Justice*. Even a Contract of Debt or Alienation, made in Minority or otherwise, which the Law does not *prohibit* \*, but barely *not assist*, will

\* It is of great Importance, in this whole Dispute, to attend to the Distinction of the Law's *prohibiting* and *annulling*, and of its *barely not assisting* certain Acts of Obligation. *If a Minor makes a Contract to pay a Sum of Money after he comes of Age, the Contract is void in Law. And yet (as the Case may be put) Conscience binds him. So if a Man executes a Bond, defective in some essential Cir-*  
admit



admit, in Conscience, of a Variety of Modifications, both of a *commercial* and of a *penal*

*cumstance as to Form, the Debt is no Debt in Law: But he is a Knave that does not pay the Money. : It is in this Light that I consider the [Marriage] Act, and it can stand in no other.*

Enquiry, &c. pp. 18, 9. Now the Law does *barely not assist* the two Species of Obligation abovementioned; but it does not *prohibit* either the *Acts* of contracting these Obligations, or the Discharge of the Obligations in Consequence of the Acts of Contract. Hence the Difference is *essential* between the Laws respecting those Obligations and the Clauses of the Act annulling *prohibited* Marriage.

—On the other Hand, if the Law does *barely prohibit*, but not *annul* any Act or Contract; the Act or Contract may derive an Obligation notwithstanding the *Prohibition*.

Thus, *Our English Laws, before this Statute [the Marriage-Act] was made, forbade indeed clandestine Marriages, but, when made, admitted their Validity, and allowed the Persons so married the civil Privileges also of the married State.*

Enquiry into the Force, &c. p. 17. Note. Agreeably to which *Grotius* says; *Si lex humana conjugia inter certas personas contrahi prohibeat, non ideo sequetur irritum fore matrimonium, si reipsa contrahatur. Sunt enim diversa, prohibere, et irritum quid facere. De Jur. Bell. ii. 5. 16.*

1. The Reason is, that the Law, though it did not *approve* these Marriages (*conjugia inter certas personas*, Marriages, for Instance, between Subjects and Foreigners, between Citizens and Slaves) *as the best*; yet it *admitted* them as *tolerable*. But there can be no Place for such Construction of Laws prohibiting *certain* Marriages by one of its *strongest* Acts, under the Pain of *absolute Nullity*; and

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Quality,

Quality, arising from the Equality or Inequality of the *Conditions of Contract*, or from the *Circumstances* of Ignorance, Inconsideration and Deception; of Force, Appetite, and Necessity in the contracting Parties. As to a Minor, in particular; as soon as he is advanced to the Age of discerning Good and Evil, he is undoubtedly *capable of moral Obligation*\*. In the Scale of Obligations there is a new Degree of Ascent, proportionable to every Degree of Increase of his moral Capacities, and to every Accession of Power over his Actions and Things *in commercio*. Though, therefore, he may not be possessed of a Measure of the moral Faculty adequate to the making of a Marriage-Contract, which is by the Act of just Authority subjected to the Will of another; yet he may be possessed of a Measure of it adequate to the Work of another Species of

especially Marriages *greatly prejudicial to Society*, with regard to which there was an allowed *Necessity of reforming our English Laws*. Diff. Pref. p. 1. And a Law prohibiting, *under Pain of Nullity*, Grotius himself allows to be effectual to *invalidate* a Marriage. Sciendum simul est, non quod vetitum est fieri lege humana, si fiat, irritum quoque esse, *nisi et hoc lex addiderit aut significaverit*. Ib. 14. 4.

\* Diff. p, 12.

Contract;

Contract; and thence there may be an Obligation *in Conscience*, to be fulfilled agreeably to the Dictates of the natural Law *Concerning Contracts*. Again, *By our own Laws Minority is no Discharge in Cases of Felony* \*; whence 'tis evident, that a Minor may be capable of a *penal* Obligation, which he will be in Conscience bound to discharge to the injured Party, agreeably to the Dictates of the natural Law *concerning Trespass or Wrong*. But to state these Varieties and Measures of Obligation, which Obligation is far from being exempted from the Force of Religion and the Cognizance of Conscience; but yet, like all other Obligations of a purely civil Quality and Import, may either entirely determine *bonâ gratiâ*, and by mutual Consent, or else be equitably adjusted in the approved Ways of Composition and Satisfaction; would open a wide Field of Debate of little Relation to our Subject. This Subject I have considered dispassionately, and without Application to the Passions of other Men. I am now, however, obliged to abide the Issue of your Appeal † to the Friends of public and private *Liberty*, whether the

\* *Diff.* p. 12.

† *Diff.* p. 46.



*annulling Clause, as to Minors, will not well stand with the Principles of both; of public Liberty, which cannot subsist but in Consistency with good Government; and of private Liberty, the only valuable Branch of which is, to act in Conformity to a reasonable Law, in all human Probability, the most efficacious to the true Interests of the Persons particularly concerned. Every other Species of Liberty is either a Liberty of Indifference to their Happiness, or else a Liberty of creating Mischief and Misery to themselves. It might be wished, you had entered more deeply into the System of Liberty, which possibly might have ended in quieting your Scruples upon that Head; and then you had, happily for the Public, preferred the annulling Clause to any other Method, as it would, in your Opinion, have answered the full End and Purpose of the all\*.*

I am, Sir,



Your obedient humble Servant,

JAMES TUNSTALL

\* *Diff.* p. 46.